

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 09358 071749Z

70

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15

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OMB-01 RSR-01 /165 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 957

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USMISSION BERLIN

USNATO 1664

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 9358

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, CH

SUBJECT: SOVIETS REVERT TO SHARP POLEMICS
WITH CHINA

REF: MOSCOW 9244, WARSAW 3904

1. SUMMARY. SHARPEST ATTACK ON PRC IN MANY MONTHS
APPEARS IN AUGUST 7 PRAVDA OVER BYLINE OF
"I. ALEKSANDROV," PSEUDONYM USED FOR AUTHORITATIVE
ARTICLES ON CHINA. ARTICLE, WHICH IS PEGGED TO
CRIMEA CONFERENCE, REPEATS OFFER OF RELATIONSHIP WITH PRC
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 09358 071749Z

"ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." END SUMMARY.

2. RELEVANT PASSAGE STATES: "AT THE APRIL 1973 PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OUR PARTY AGAIN AFFIRMED ITS UNCHANGING DESIRE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE PRC ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." IN FACT, RESOLUTION PUBLISHED AFTER THAT PLENUM MADE NO MENTION OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." THE USAGE HARKS BACK TO - AND GOES BEYOND - BREZHNEV'S IRONIC REFERENCE OF MARCH 20, 1972, WHEN HE AGREED TO ACCEPT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS "IF PEOPLE IN PEKING ARE NOT PREPARED FOR MORE IN RELATIONS WITH A SOCIALIST STATE."

3. "ALEKSANDROV" LISTS NUMBER OF SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST PRC, AMONG THEM: - TURNING INTO DIRECT ALLY OF MOST REACTIONARY CIRCLES OF IMPERIALISM AND HOLDING SAME POSITIONS AS IMPERIALIST MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX; - OPPOSING SOCIALIST EFFORTS FOR SECURITY IN EUROPE AND COUNTING ON ANTI-SOVIET ARRANGEMENTS WITH EEC AND NATO MEMBERS; - IN UN, ALLYING SELF WITH PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA TO FRUSTRATE SOVIET INITIATIVES; - RENOUNCING CLASS PRINCIPLES BY PEDDLING "LYING THESIS" OF "TWO SUPERPOWERS;" - WAGING A STRUGGLE FROM POSITIONS OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM;" - REJECTING OR IGNORING SOVIET PROPOSALS IN RECENT YEARS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS.

4. ARTICLE SAYS SOVIET UNION IS STILL READY FOR SERIOUS CONSTRUCTIVE TALKS WITH PRC, BUT ONLY IF CHINESE LEADERSHIP OBSERVES PRINCIPLES OF MUTUAL RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND IF IT DISCONTINUES ITS HOSTILE ACTIVITY AGAINST SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

5. "ALIKSANDROV" ARTICLE DISCUSSES FULL RANGE OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IN CONTEXT OF JULY 30-31 CRIMEA COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. IT WAS PRECEDED AUGUST 4 BY PUBLICATION OF POLITBURO DECISION BLESSING THE RESULTS OF THE CRIMEA CONFERENCE AND NOTING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STRUGGLE "AGAINST 'LEFT' AND RIGHT OPPORTUNIST CURRENTS." THESE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 09358 071749Z

SOVIET POST-CONFERENCE COMMENTS - PLUS THE POLISH BLAST AGAINST THE PRC (WARSAW REFTEL)- ARE A FURTHER INDICATION THAT CHINA WAS VERY MUCH ON BREZHNEV'S MIND IN THE CRIMEA, AND THAT HE WAS NOT HAPPY WITH OMISSION OF ALL REFERENCE TO CHINA IN THE CRIMEA COMMUNIQUE. SOVIET POLITBURO DECISION REFERRED TO 1969 COMMUNIST CONFERENCE AND "ALEKSANDROV" PIECE REFERRED TO LAST THREE CONFERENCES - 1969, 1960, AND 1957 -

AND INDICATION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PRESSING IDEA THAT
THE CHINESE PROBLEM HAS MADE ANOTHER CONFERENCE
NECESSARY.

6. AT LUNCH WITH MEMBERS OF THE FAR EAST AND USA
INSTITUTES, EMBOFFS RAISED "ALIKSANDROV" PIECE, NOTING
CONTRADICTION IMPLICIT IN PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
BETWEEN SOCIALIST STATES. SOVIETS COMMENTED THAT "WE DO
NOT CONSIDER CHINA TO BE SOCIALIST." PRESSED, THEY
EXPRESS PERSONAL VIEW (NOTING THAT LINE NOT ESTABLISHED
ON THIS SUBJECT) THAT IT TAKES MORE THAN SIMPLY OWNERSHIP
OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION TO MAKE A COUNTRY SOCIALIST
AND THAT PRESENT SYSTEM IN CHINA IS SHOT THROUGH WITH
PETTY BOURGEOIS APPROACH. ONE SOVIET EXPRESSED HIS
BELIEF THAT CHANGE IN CHINESE LEADERSHIP WOULD NOT IN
ITSELF BE ENOUGH TO RESTORE SOCIALISM THERE.
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